Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-13 EB-08 NRC-05 OES-07
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FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8657

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

CINCPAC

AMCONSUL BOMBAY

AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

AMCONSUL MADRAS

CONFIDENTIAL NEW DELHI 0588

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MNUC, PARM, IN, UK

SUBJECT: NEXT STEPS ON THE SAFEGUARDS PROBLEM

REFTELS: (A) NEW DELHI 307 (NOTAL) (B) NEW DELHI 437

1. WHOEVER DRAFTS THE "COLD AND VERY BLUNT" LETTER DUE PRIME MINISTER DESAI MIGHT CONSIDER EMULATING THE APPROACH USED BY PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN HERE. IN BRIEF, HE RECOGNIZED THAT THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS POWERS CONFIDENTIAL

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SHOULD PROPERLY BE EXPECTED TO EFFECT LIMITS ON THE "VERTICAL" PROLIFERATION FOR WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE BEFORE EXPECTING INDIA TO MOVE IN THEIR DIRECTION ON THE ACCEPTANCE OF FULL SCOPE SAFEGUARDS. THE NOTION OF THIS KIND OF TRADE-OFF PROTECTS INDIA'S PRIDE, OBVIATES OUR SEEMING TO ASSUME A SUPERIOR MORAL POSITION, AND OFFERS THE ONLY HOPE WE CAN SEE AT THIS

POINT FOR AN EVENTUAL FAVORABLE ACCOMMODATION IN THE GOI'S POSITION.

2. IN VIEW OF VARIED DESAI STATEMENTS AND EVEN MORE DISCREPANT PRESS REPORTS THIS PAST WEEK ON THE CONDITIONS WHICH THE GOI JUDGES MUST BE MET BEFORE INDIA CAN ACCEPT SAFEGUARDS, THE SITUATION CONTINUES TO BE DISTINCTLY OPAQUE. WE IN THE MISSION, HOWEVER, FIND MORARJI'S STATEMENT TO OUR SENATORIAL CODEL (REFTEL A) AND THE CALLAGHAN PRESS STATEMENT THAT MORARJI PERSONALLY CLEARED (REFTEL B) TO BE IN GENERAL ACCORD WITH EACH OTHER (THOUGH THE VERSION GIVEN THE SENATORS IS MORE EXPLICIT IN INCLUDING CHINA). THEY PROBABLY REPRESENT THE BEST AVAILABLE INDICATIONS OF THE DEGREE OF FLEXIBILITY (IF ANY) THAT EXISTS IN THE PM'S POSITION. WE DO NOT KNOW IF DESAI HAS THE AGREEMENT OF HIS CABINET TO THIS APPROACH, AND EXPECT THAT THERE WOULD BE SOME OPPOSITION TO IT THERE AND IN THE BUREAUCRACY AND SCIENTIFIC ESTABLISHMENT. BUT IT IS MORE POLITICALLY SELLABLE THAN ANY OTHER APPROACH, AND IS, IN ANY EVENT, THE ONLY COURSE DESAI HIMSELF SEEMS WILLING TO PURSUE.

3. SO FAR AS THE PRESS IS CONCERNED, WHILE THE UK AND US OBJECTIVES ON SAFEGUARDS ARE SEEN TO BE IDENTICAL, MARKED APPRECIATION HAS BEEN EXPRESSED IN SEVERAL INSTANCES FOR PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN'S DIPLOMATIC EMPHASIS ON THE PRIME RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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NUCLEAR WEAPONS POWERS TO GET THEIR OWN HOUSES IN ORDER. WE BELIEVE AN APPROACH WHICH EMULATED IT WOULD BE WELL RECEIVED BY DESAI, PARTICULARLY IF IT USED AS A TAKE-OFF POINT THE PRESIDENT'S OWN RECOLLECTION OF THE STCUSS DESAI LAID ON THIS ELEMENT DURING THE TALKS HERE. GOHEEN

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